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PAPER

**A Cross-Cultural Theory of
Basic Individual Values
and some Applications**

Maria Ros

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Paper prepared for the Symposium
'Values and Work - A Comparative Perspective'
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WORC, Tilburg University, The Netherlands

Draft Version

1. Introduction

A major goal of research on values has been to relate individual differences in value priorities to differences in attitudes, behaviour and background variables. Past research has in general adopted one or two approaches. One of them has adopted a few single target values whose priorities were postulated to associate with the attitude, behaviour or background variable (equality and civil rights Rokeach 1973, obedience and social class Alwin 1984, job selection and independence Khön & Schooler 1983). Other research has been more exploratory and it has related lists of values to other variables and then discussed the significant associations that emerged.

The focus on relationships with single values makes both of these approaches unsatisfying. It leads to a piece meal accumulation of information that is unproductive in the construction of coherent theories due to three types of problems: the unreliability of single values, the absence of other relevant values to the attitude or behaviour in question and finally the single values approach ignores the shared assumption that attitudes and behaviour are guided not by the priority given to a single value but by trade-offs among competing values that are implicated simultaneously in a behaviour or attitude (Rokeach 1973, Tetlock 1986, Schwartz 1992).

This paper is intended to show the benefits of adopting Schwartz theory of individual values at a cross-cultural level because it overcomes these three types of problems. First it deals not with single values but with indexes of values that are formed on several values, second value types are articulated in high order dimensions that show the compatibilities and incompatibilities of value types and finally it has been validated at the crosscultural level with data from 40 countries and 80 different samples.

Moreover this theory has been useful in applying the strategy of values systems as a whole in order to relate value priorities to asset behavioural problems like cooperative behaviour, voting in national elections, readiness for contact with members of the outgroup, religiosity and meaning of work values among others.

I will first introduce Schwartz theory of individual values at the crosscultural level, then I will illustrate it with some of the applications of this theory in relation to a variety of behaviours and finally I will elaborate on the applications of this theory to the study of work values and work meaning.

2. Schwartz cross-cultural theory of basic individual values

Schwartz's recent theory (Schwartz 1992, Schwartz & Bilsky 1987) of the content and structure of basic individual values followed Rokeach (1973) and Kluckhohn (1951) in defining human values as desirable, transsituational goals, varying in importance that serve as guiding principles in peoples lives. The crucial content aspect that distinguishes among values is the type of motivational goal they express. Schwartz developed a universal typology of values by reasoning that values represent in the form of conscious goals three universal requirements of human existence: biological needs, requisites of coordinated social interaction and demands of group survival and functioning. Groups

and individuals represent these requirements cognitively as specific values about which they communicate in order to explain, coordinate and rationalize behavior.

Ten motivationally distinct types of values were derived from the three universal requirements. Table 1 lists the value types, each defined in terms of its central goal and followed, in parenthesis by specific single values that primarily represent it. A specific value represents a type when actions that express the value or lead to its attainment promote the central goal of the type.

Table 1. Definitions of Motivational Types of Values in terms of their goals and the single values that represent them.

POWER:	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources. (Social Power, Authority, Wealth)
ACHIEVEMENT:	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards. (Successful, Capable, Ambitious, Influential).
HEDONISM:	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself. (Pleasure, Enjoying Life).
STIMULATION:	Excitement, novelty and challenge in life. (Daring, a Varied Life, an Exciting life).
SELF_DIRECTION:	Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring. (Creativity, Freedom, Independent Curious, Choosing own Goals).
UNIVERSALISM:	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature. (Broadminded,

Wisdom, Social Justice, Equality, A World at Peace, a World of Beauty, Unity with Nature, Protecting the Environment).

BENEVOLENCE: Preservation and Enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in personal frequent contact. (Helpful, honest, Forgiving, Loyal, Responsible).

TRADITION: Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion impose on the self. (Humble, Accepting my portion in life, Devout, Respect for Tradition, Moderate).

CONFORMITY: Restraint of actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms. (Politeness, Obedient, Self-Disciplined, Honoring Parents and Elders).

SECURITY: Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self. (Family Security, National Security, Social Order, Clean, Reciprocation of Favors).

Although the theory discriminates ten value types, it postulates that, at a more basic level, values form a continuum of related motivations. This continuum gives rise to its circular structure. The partitioning into value types represents conceptually convenient decisions about where one fuzzy set ends and another begins. Values near the boundaries of adjacent value types overlap somehow in their motivational meaning (Schwartz in press). Consequently, in empirical studies, values from adjacent types may intermix rather than emerging in clear distinct regions. By contrast, values and value types that express opposing motivations should be clearly discriminated from one another.

In addition to these propositions regarding the content of values, the theory specifies dynamic relations among the types of values. According to the theory the pursuit of some values may be compatible or incompatible with the pursuit of other value types, for example the pursuit of the value type of conformity, that is following the actions approved by others may be in conflict with the pursuit of the value type of self-direction that is following independent thought or exploring new courses of action.

The total pattern of relations of value conflict and compatibility among value priorities gives rise to a circular structure of value systems. This structure represented in Fig 1 has also received substantial support in cross-cultural research. Schwartz & Sagiv's (in press) work on value types and structures for 88 samples in 40 countries show that the ten value types are distinguishable either in a distinct region or in a joint region with its postulated neighbours. Competing value types emanate in opposite directions from the center; complementary types are in close proximity going around the circle.

Insert Fig. 1 about here.

The nature of compatibilities among value types is clarified by noting the shared motivational orientations of the adjacent value types. Viewed in terms of these shared orientations, the adjacent types form a motivational continuum around the circular value structure that can be seen in Fig 1. For example power and achievement both emphasize social superiority and esteem and security and power both share avoiding or overcoming the threats of uncertainties by controlling relationships and resources (see Schwartz 1992, 1994).

In contrast, two major value conflicts that structure value systems have been found in 95% of the samples studied in 41 countries (Schwartz in press). This value systems structure is organized cross-culturally along two basic dimensions. As shown in Fig 1 these dimensions are composed of high order value types that result from the combination of the ten value types. The first dimension -Openness to Change versus Conservation- opposes values emphasizing own independent thought and action and favouring change (self-direction and stimulation types) versus submissive self-restriction, preservation of traditional practices and protection of stability (security, conformity and tradition). The second dimension opposes Self-Transcendence to Self-Enhancement. This dimension reflects a conflict between acceptance of others as equals and concern for their welfare (universalism and benevolence) versus emphasizing the pursuit of one's relative success and dominance over others (power and achievement). Hedonism is related both to Openness to Change and Self-Enhancement.

The correspondence between the actual and the hypothesized content and structure of value types was assessed by examining 2 dimensional spatial representations of the intercorrelations among the 56 single values (Smallest Space Analysis (SSA), Guttman, 1968). Separate analysis were carried out in each of the 88 samples from 40 countries. Results verify the typology of value types used cross-culturally to express value priorities. These value types have a structural arrangement of compatibilities and incompatibilities that are arrayed in a motivational continuum in most cultures. The two basic dimensions that organize this structure is virtually universal and 44 out of 56 values have consistent meaning across cultures. These values that can be used to form cross-cultural comparable indexes of the importance attributed to each value type.

I will now try to show how this theory of basic human values as integrated structures has been applied to the study a whole array of behaviours.

3. Values priorities and behaviour: Applications of the Theory

The view of value systems as integrated structures facilitates the generation of systematic, coherent hypothesis and a comprehensive interpretation regarding the relations of the full set of value priorities to other variables as behaviours.

Two statements summarize the implications of the interrelatedness of value priorities for generating hypothesis and interpreting findings: 1) Any outside variable tends to be

associated similarly with value types that adjacent in the value structure and 2) Associations with any outside variable decrease monotonically as one moves around the circular structure of value types in both directions from the most positively associated value type to the least positively associated value type (Schwartz 1992).

Let us see the usefulness of this type of systems approach in order to explain behaviour. Table 2 summaries the range of applications of this theory of value systems at the individual level.

Table 2. Applications of the cross-cultural theory of individual values to explain behaviors.

Value	Behaviours	Authors
Priorities		
	Interpersonal	Natan, Bornstein
	Cooperation	& Schwartz 1993
	Voting Behaviour	Barnea & Schwartz 1994
		Ros, Grad & Alvaro 1994
	National Identification	Feather 1994
	Outgroup Social Contact	Sagiv & Schwartz 1993
	Religiosity	Schwartz & Huismans 1994
	Work as a value	Ros & Grad 1991
	Work values	Schwartz in press

Natan, Bornstein & Schwartz (1993) designed an experimental study in order to show the relation of value priorities to cooperative and competitive behaviour. Ninety three University students (45 males and 45 females) recruited for a decision making experiment participated in small groups. They first completed a 56 value survey (Schwartz 1987) in which they rated the importance of each value "as a guiding principle in my life" on a 9 point scale ranging from 7 (of supreme importance) to 0 (not important) to -1(opposed to my values). Indexes of the importance of each value type were computed by averaging the importance ratings of the values representative of that type (see table 1).

Each participant then read that for this task, he/she was paired with another student from their group whose identity was not revealed. Participants were each given a matrix adapted from games like the prisoners dilemma in order to measure cooperation versus non cooperation (competition and individualism). They had to choose one of the three alternatives. Results show that the stronger predictor of noncooperative behaviour is the importance given by the individual to power values while the stronger predictor of cooperative behaviour is the importance attributed to benevolence values.

Moreover backing up the model of the values system the cooperative behaviour was also related to the high priority given to universalism and conformity values, (both are value types adjacent to benevolence) and cooperation was negatively related to power, achievement and hedonism its opposing values types in the value systems structure.

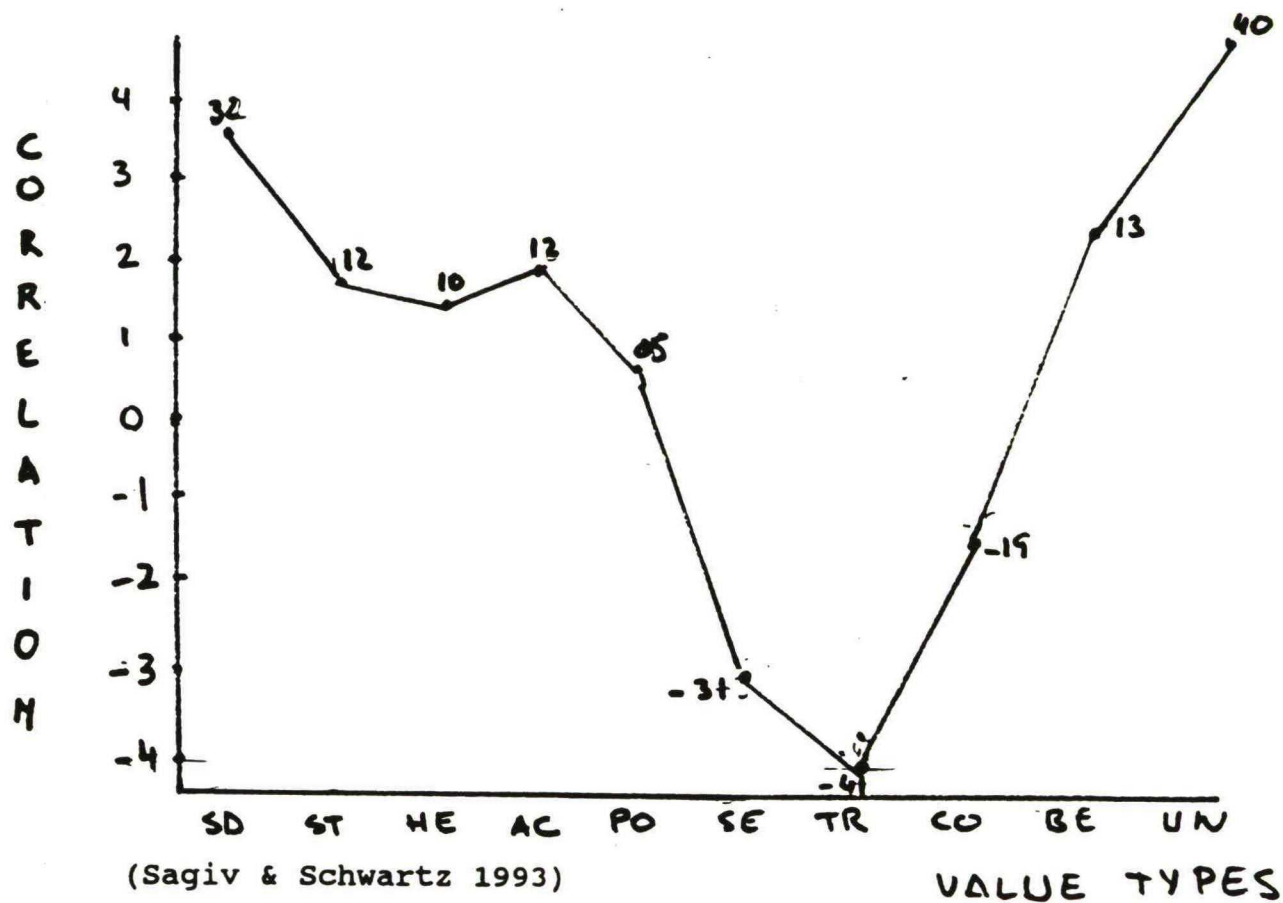
A second applied context has been the relation between value priorities and the readiness for outgroup social contact. Sagiv & Schwartz (1993) applied the theory to study the readiness of Israel Jews (the majority group) for social contact with Israel Arabs (the minority group). The following hypothesis were stated in order to explain the readiness of the majority group to start contact with the minority group. On one hand attributing importance to Conservation value types (tradition, conformity and security) correlates negatively with readiness for out group contact because contact entails exposure to divergent traditions and customs threatening those for whom maintenance of own traditions is important. It also may imply disrupting the considered accepted social norms or the prevailing social order.

On the other hand attributing importance to Openness to Change values (self direction and stimulation) correlates positively with readiness for outgroup contact because intergroup contact provides new & different ways of life and opportunities to learn and explore about them (self-direction) as well as novelty and excitement (stimulation). Finally, attributing importance to Self-Transcendence value types (benevolence & universalism) also correlates positively with readiness for contact. The priority given to universalism is specially relevant to this behaviour since it implies showing concern to all human beings. No correlation was expected for power, achievement and hedonism. This set of hypothesis also forms an integrated whole that reflects the structure of relations among value types. The predicted correlations are progressively less positive as one moves in both directions around the circle from universalism (most positive) to tradition (most negative) values.

A group of Jewish public teachers ($N=151$), in grades six to ten from schools around the country first completed the 56 items value survey and indicated their readiness in a 5pt. willingness scale for seven types of contact with Israeli-Arabs, that ranged from superficial to intense contact. The correlations between value priorities and readiness for social contact show that the types of values hypothesized to have negative correlations (tradition, conformity and security), and those hypothesized to have positive correlations (universalism & self-direction) were correlated as expected ($p < .01$). The correlations for the two types hypothesized to have weaker positive correlations (benevolence & stimulation) were in the expected direction. Finally as expected the correlation for universalism was most positive and that for tradition most negative.

In sum, the order of correlations matched that specified by the integrated hypothesis, as described by the sinusoid curve, with only a slight deviation for achievement.

Table 3. Correlation between value priorities and readiness for social contact.



Voting behaviour is a third context where the theory has been applied. Several theories that have related personal values attitudes and political behaviour have considered one or two isolated values (ex. freedom and equality in Rokeach 1973 or two factors like Materialism-Postmaterialism in Inglehart 1992). In order to overcome these limitations several researchers (Barnea & Schwartz 1994, Ros, Grad & Alvaro (1994) have applied the cross-cultural theory on personal values (Schwartz 1992) to unravel the hierarchy of values of social groups who differ in their left-right political orientation.

According to Barnea & Schwartz (1994) in Israel, because the parties are primarily discriminated according to their views on freedom of individual expression versus maintenance of order and control of "deviance", predictions were that left more than right voters would tend to upgrade the dimension of Openness to change (including self-direction and stimulation) versus Conservation (tradition, conformity and security). The remaining value types (benevolence, universalism and power) seemed more relevant to the economic egalitarianism dimension of political ideology on which Israeli parties are not strongly discriminated.

A representative sample of the Jewish population in Israel above age 19, responded to a survey on the ratings of 37 single values in their homes in 1990. Overall results confirm the hypothesis. Self-direction, stimulation and hedonism values were rated more important by supporters of Mapz-Ratz party (high liberalism) than by voters of Religious parties (low liberalism). Tradition and conformity values were rated more important by voters for the Religious parties. For the remaining types differences were

smaller and less systematically related to the order of the parties in classical liberalism. In keeping with the integrated hypothesis, the size and sign of the differences between the extreme groups followed the order of the value types around the structural circle with the deviation of only one place for stimulation.

Ros, Grad & Alvaro (1994) research in Spain was also aimed to unravel the relation between left-right voting behaviour and the values integrated structure on one side and on the other to see whether these findings would be sustained not only for personal values but also for values as important guides for society. We thought that right and left political parties in our country could be distinguished, as in Israel, on the liberal dimension. Therefore we thought that the crucial dimension would be the Openness to Change versus Conservation dimension and that the right would be higher in conservation values and the left in openness to change values.

Political party analysts (Beyme 1986) also consider the economic dimension as basis for party categorization. It is related to the distribution of resources among citizens and to the role of the State in regulating the economic life. In this dimension we can find the egalitarian pole that bases resource distribution on the principle of equality and need (Deutsch 1975) and/or the State coordination of economic life in order to facilitate the pursue of this egalitarian end. The non-egalitarian position is grounded in the equity principle of distributive justice that gives primacy to differential merit.

Therefore we expected that party supporters who differ in this dimension will also differ in the high priority they will give to Self-Enhancement values (achievement & power) versus Self-transcendence values (universalism & benevolence). Right voters were expected to give higher priority to Self-Enhancement values and left voters to Self-Transcendence values.

An ad hoc sample of 150 subjects each from four occupational groups in Spain (directives , professionals, technicians and workers) answered a short version of the SVS questionnaire and rated the 37 values list on how important they were as a guide in their lives (from now on personal values) and a 16 values list on the importance they gave to values as a guide for society (from now on social values). Then subjects answered if they had voted in the last 89 general elections and to which party they had voted.

In order to compare the value hierarchies of the left-right political orientation a series of bifactorial covariate analyses were performed. In these analyses value types were the dependant variable, left- right parties were the independent variables and the values mean for the person was used as covariant. Separate analyses were performed for values for the person and for values for society.

Results show that the left-right political orientation has been significantly related to all value types except benevolence, achievement and power and this holds true for personal and social values. The main difference is that the right rates the values of Conservation

higher than those of Openness to Change, while the left clearly maintains the opposite value orientation. This different orientation is marked by a preference for right party voters for the values of tradition, conformity, and security and by the high ratings of left party voters of stimulation and self-direction value types. Additionally left voters gave greater importance than right voters to hedonistic & universalism values.

Interestingly enough, what distinguishes left from right voters are not the differences on the values of "freedom" and "equality" as Rokeach (1973) postulated but the configuration of the high order values priorities. For left voters the configuration is Self- Transcendence, Openness to Change, Self-Enhancement and Conservation while for right voters is Self-Transcendence, Conservation, Openness to Change & Self-Enhancement.

Table 4. Importance of high order value types according to voting behaviour after controlling the personal mean score.

VALUES	PERSONAL		SOCIAL	
	Right N= 136	Left N=137	Right N=137	Left N=138
High Order Value T.				
Self-Transcendence	4.74	5.14**	5.04	5.54**
Openess to Change	3.80	4.45**	3.98	4.46**
Self-Enhacement	3.70	3.93	3.71	3.81
Conservation	4.12	3.34**	3.80	2.94**
Self-Transcend. vs.				
Self-Enhacement	1.04	1.21	1.34	1.74
Openess to Change vs.				
Conservation	-.32	1.11**	.18	1.53**

Note ** $p < .001$

Ros, Grad & Alvaro (1994)

Results on the pearson correlation between personal and social values and left-right voting behaviour show that the differences between right and left lie in the opposition between Openness to Change versus Conservation. Those who assign greater importance to the high order values of Openness to Change and less importance to the high order values of Conservation have a higher probability of being a left voter. And viceversa for a right voter. The dimension Self-Transcendence vs. Self-Promotion does not contribute in a powerful way to the left-right placement, partly due to the weak predictive power of the Self-Enhancement value type. These results are similar for personal and social value.

Table 5. Pearson Correlation Coefficients between personal and social value types according to voting behaviour.

	PERSONAL	SOCIAL
GROUP	Left-Right	Left-Right
Values	Correlation	Correlation
Self-Transcendence	.26	.45
Openess to Change	.57	.58
Self-Enhacement	.02	-.05
Conservation	-.65	-.67
S-Trascend.vs S-Enhacem.	.15	.30
OpenessChange vs.Conser.	.97	.96

Ros, Grad & Alvaro (1994)

4. Values and work

Work is a central and valued aspect of human behaviour. The relation between values and the meaning of work has been the focus of several perspectives. One perspective has addressed the social and psychological functions that work has for people (latent functions Jahoda 1981, 1982 and Warr 1987). The other has considered the valued dimensions of work that affect work satisfaction (Herzberg, Mausner & Snyderman 1959, Herzberg 1966).

Herzberg extrinsic (ends obtained as work as a means, as pay and security) and intrinsic work values (ends that are inherent in the work itself as personal growth, autonomy, interest and creativity) and the five Jahoda latent functions (to structure time, to share experiences and have social contact, to engage in social goals, to obtain status and identity and to provide a regular activity) are nearly present every empirical study on values and work.

Two recent international projects have studied the values of work. Harding et al (1986) factorial analysis of several work values report three main work valued dimensions: personal development (initiative, personal responsibility); pleasant climate (pleasant interpersonal relations, good working conditions) and security & reward (job security, good salary and opportunities for work advancement). The MOW (1987) reports the following work valued dimensions income, expressive (autonomy, variety and interesting work), interpersonal contact (good interpersonal relations) and the obligation

norm (time at work as opposed to leisure) and the entitlement norm (work as a social service). These different labels on work values can be related to the Schwartz ten value types as shown in Fig 2.

Insert Fig.2

Ros & Grad (1991) adopted Schwartz cross-cultural theory on basic human values to study the importance of work as a value and the meaning of work in relation to occupational experience. A sample of teachers (N=179) at work (teachers with occupational experience) and a sample of teaching students (N=193) (students being trained to become teachers) rated the Schwartz 56 value items plus the item work as a value.

We hypothesized following Mortimer & Lorence (1979) that both groups would have a similar value structure due to their occupational selection and to their similar educational and economic background. Teacher and students differences in the motivational meaning of work as a value would be related to differences in their working experience. Teaching students have no working experience and therefore have not had the experience of adapting their values to the structural demands of their working conditions. Hence many different values can be related to work as a value.

On the other hand teachers in work have been more exposed to adapt their values to their own working conditions. They would be more conditioned by the structural determinants of their working experience that is by the high degree of interpersonal relation, medium income and low autonomy that the job of secondary teacher provides (Ros et al 1989) . For them, work as a value would be less related to the value types of power, achievement and hedonism and following the structural incompatibilities, more related to the values of benevolence, universalism, tradition and conformity.

Results show a similar value structure for teachers and students. For both groups their value configuration follows a similar pattern: Self-Transcendence values are rated in the first place, followed by Openness to Change values and both groups reject the values embedded in the dimensions of Self-Enhancement and specially Conservation. Both groups consider work as a very important value as important as the values of the Self-Transcendence dimension.

However similarity in value importance of the value work can hide differences in value meaning. As predicted, work had a different motivational meaning for teachers and students. For students, the similar associations of the value work to the rest of values placed it near the center of the SSA. For teachers, work was placed near the value type of benevolence, proximate to the values of "sense in life" and "responsible"; and tradition, near the value of "accepting my portion in life" and "spiritual life" and opposite to the values of hedonism and stimulation. Pearson correlation among the value types and the value of work showed that for teachers work was significantly ($p < .05$)

associated to the dimensions of Self-Transcendence (.49) and Conservation (.52) while for students it was positively associated to each of the four dimensions, Self-Transcendence (.39), Openness to Change(.29), Self -Enhancement (.28) and Conservation (.21).

Table 6. The relation between Schwartz value types and the meaning of work.

FACTORS	VALUE TYPES									
	UN	BE	CO	TR	SE	PO	AC	HE	ST	SD
<hr/>										
Harding et al										
Reward & Security					X	X				
Personal Development							X			X
Pleasant Climate									X	
MOW										
Income						X				
Expressive									X	X
Interpersonal Contact	X	X								
Obligation Norm					X					
Entitlement Norm	X		X							
Ros & Grad (1991)										

In a similar vein Schwartz (in press) relates work values to the basic structure of human values. He argues that four dimensions of work, intrinsic, extrinsic, social and prestige summarizes the values of work and relates them to the four basic dimensions of human values.

Intrinsic work values are specific and direct expression of openness to change values in the work settings , that is work allows the person to meet the goals of creativity, curiosity, variety and excitement. Extrinsic work values express conservation values in the work settings; job security and income provide workers with the requirement needed for general security and maintenance of order in their lives. Social & interpersonal work values express the pursuit of self-transcendence values that is work as a vehicle for positive social relations and contributions to society. Finally prestige work values express broad self-enhancement values in the work setting; work is a vehicle for attaining social recognition and control over people and resources.

Schwartz (in press) provides evidence that people discriminate four types of work values which parallel the four basic human value types: intrinsic (openness to change),; extrinsic (conservation); social (self-transcendence) and prestige (self-enhancement). Using convergent measures of SSA and factor analysis the author shows that relating work values to universal value types can help to define each work value type in a broader sense.

Data from a representative sample of Jewish population in Israel (N=999) showed that work values are related to human values following the same bidimensional structure. Extrinsic work values (like pay and security) is associated with Conservation human basic values; that is workers who give priority to stability and security in their lives will be willing to give priority to extrinsic work values. The opposing pole of this dimension is Openness to change (that is valuing self-development, creativity and daring in life). Openness to change correlates positively with Intrinsic work values that is valuing a job that enables autonomy, independent thought and creativity (interest, personal growth) and negatively with extrinsic work values. Both dimensions oppose each other because as far as people value having autonomy and interesting tasks in work they will devalue routine and uninteresting working conditions which usually accompany secure jobs.

The second bipolar dimension of basic human values is Self-Transcendence versus Self-Enhancement. Self-Transcendence is positively correlated with social work values since valuing actions in favour of all human beings is coherent with valuing the pleasant interpersonal dimension of work. Self-Enhancement is positively correlated with prestige work values since work is perceived as a vehicle for attaining social recognition and control over people and resources. Both value types oppose each other because in as much as it is important for people to emphasize equality, promotion of other people interests and social stability so it is less likely that competition over power and resources, hierarchy and exerting power over others will be emphasized. In a parallel way giving priority to prestige work values opposes giving priority to social work values.

In sum Schwartz research (in press) shows how the study of basic human values can be usefully applied to the study of work values. This research has the advantage of relating productively basic human values to the study of work values as integrated structures.

5. Conclusions

We have tried to show how Schwartz crosscultural theory of basic human values as an integrated structure offers several theoretical advantages in the study of human values. First it organizes single values around value types according to the criteria of their similar underlying motivation, which in turn increases the reliability of value indexes. Second it provides a value structure of a basic motivational continuum that is organized in two basic bipolar dimensions. This facilitates the generation of systematic coherent hypothesis and a comprehensive interpretation of a full set of value priorities. And third it can be usefully applied to the study of the relation of values and behaviour.

We have selected a few examples of the application of the theory to the study of voting behaviour, cooperation & competition, intergroup contact and work.

The studies reported have been fruitful in showing how behavior can be related to a different arrays of value priorities and how the relation between a particular behaviour and the dynamic relations of value structures provide systematic predictions that have proved theoretically and empirically productive. Special attention has been devoted to

illustrate how the study of work as a value can be fruitfully related to the structure and motivational meaning of basic human values showing the first steps of a theoretical integration.

Table 7. Schwartz (in press) Work Values and its relation to Basic Human Values.

Work valued Dimensions

Intrinsic	=	Personal growth, autonomy, interest & creativity.
Extrinsic	=	pay & security.
Social	=	working with people, contribution to society.
Power	=	prestige, authority, influence.

Work values		Basic Human Values
Intrinsic	-----	Openess to change
Extrinsic	-----	Conservation
Social	-----	Self- Trascendence
Power	-----	Self-Enhacement

Work value & human Value Dimensions.

Intrinsic vs. Extrinsic	-----	Openess to Change vs. Conservation
Social vs. Power	-----	Self-Trascendence vs. Self-Enhacement

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